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## SPEAKERS

Jordan Loewen-Colon

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Jordan Loewen-Colon 00:06

Matt, hello and welcome to the mapping the Doctrine of Discovery podcast. The producers of this podcast would like to acknowledge with respect the Onondaga Nation, Fire Keepers of the Haudenosaunee, the indigenous peoples on whose ancestral lands, Syracuse University now stands. Hi,

00:31

everybody. My name is Lisa Moore. I'm the executive director of the Onondaga Historical Association, and have worked very closely with the scandal collab, the academic collaborative, and folks who have helped bring this Haudenosaunee history on doc history to the community.

So we're really pleased to introduce ourselves to you if you're new, and welcome back if, if this

isn't your first visit. I'm also really, really grateful to the staff that I get to work with here, Ronnie Francisco and Joey Hill, Emerson, shendoa was mentioned wonderful, wonderful people

doing really important work. So we're so grateful to have the kind of team we have here. I'm also very grateful to my colleagues at the Erie Canal Museum, if you were here for the first presentation, you saw Jake present a two Row Wampum and with the Erie Canal Museum, I think our strategy is to do programming like this, literally across the street or across the river, if

you will, from the activities that are going on with the Seneca chief to make sure that we're telling the histories of both groups of people, or many groups of people affected by the canals construction. So I'm grateful to Steph and Derek for thinking about putting this programming here at the scanner center, and I have to say, when I arrived, we do have information across the street. And when I arrived, I heard that the tugboat moving the Seneca chief had a little challenge. And I couldn't help but think, and as Jake was challenging, I thought of it as well. Is

that the little bit of stress that was caused by the tugboat not quite making it through the shallow water is maybe Mother Earth response to the kind of stress that was experienced when

the canal was built. So I think there's a little bit of, I don't know, a little bit of intervention happening there, out in the world. So I think, yeah, I think it's a very minor amount of stress compared to what what stress was experienced by the Earth. One other thing that Jake mentioned in his commentary is that Haudenosaunee and indigenous history is passed down orally, and organizations like OHA and Erie County Museum have a lot of written history, and in

that written history, the letters, the journals, the maps, the treaties, lies truth as well. And with us today are two gentlemen who have used those kinds of resources to dig deep. And how did

this dispossession of the Haudenosaunee lands come to be? What were the military campaigns? What were the treaties? Who were the people? And I had a present. I had an opportunity to hear Travis give this presentation, kind of in the heart of it all. Very brave decision to present this history in the home Philip Skylar to the members of the Skylar mansion,

and nobody chased you out. But it was a very easier to tell the tale. So obviously it worked out

okay, and I'm sure there were people who did not heard that information decided quite that way. So without delay, I'd like to introduce Travis Bowman and Matthew Dembo, who have written a book called clearing iroquoia. Make sure I don't model up the title. It's on the slide behind me, New York's land grab and the 1779 campaigns of the American Revolution.

Matthew

Don Mo has been in higher education for many years, over 20 years, primarily researching military history, America's history. Travis Bowman selections with the New York State Museum,

and it's also working on efforts toward the other commemorative year that's really actually in, which is the American Revolution, in the Revolutionary War, which also, as we know, had a horrific effect on people, alums. Some of that, and I was curious. Thank you very much.

05:06

One minor correction, I actually work for New York State Parks. Those people are totally different than what we do, sorry. So the reason Matt and I worked on this book, it goes back to

sort of long history. We've been friends for a long, long time. We were archeologists together way back in like the 90s, and we kept coming across the Sullivan campaign. We've heard the Sullivan campaign mentioned a couple times this morning by the earlier presenters, and the

Sullivan campaign master specialist in the American Revolution with the British Army, and the

specialist with New York state history is this campaign is just completely sort of swept under the rug. It's just, Oh, see, there was rating in 1778 and to punish all that rating that the Haudenosaunee were doing in 1778 George Washington, or the Sullivan campaign, and that was sort of the end of it. And you really lose the entire story of dissolving the campaign without

putting it in the proper context. So we set out to do a conference presentation on putting this in

the proper context, and we were all set to present in April of 2020, and the conference, I can't remember why the conference got canceled. Something was happening, so we just kept writing, and we're like, oh, now let's do a journal article. And then by the time it was all written

and done, we ended up with a book. So this is the presentation that comes out of what we found. And what we found was really the new what is New York State's role within the Sullivan

and you'll see by the end is basically New York State, specifically that man, Bill Skyler, basically

tricking the United States government into invading a foreign country, invading Iroquois, and taking them in for the United States. So again, even in my own agency, this is Newtown battlefield status first site, which is out there in myRA. You go see the cloud solvent markers. Is

one upstairs as well. They will tell you what the story of the Sullivan campaign has been told for

the last 250 years, or almost 250 years, and that's at the Battle of Newtown, which is a major

military clash that was spawned the campaign. You know, Butler and Brett were, you know, were defeated by John Sullivan, avenging the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, destroying the Iroquois Confederacy, ending the attacks on their settlements, and hereby opening westward the path for the civilization. So again, you can see this is just horribly bad language about the way they were thinking about the campaign back in the 1920s and markers, hundreds of these markers across state of New York. But really, if you look at the actual campaign, that's not what happened with that. That's not the reason for the campaign. That's not the result of the campaign. And so we're going to try to put it into a deeper context for you, in the history of the American Revolution and in the history of what's happening in New

York City. Actually, we're trying to get sure so we're kind of aware of a weird pack team. We've

done together for a long time. So as you I'm the military historian, so I'm the Senate belong, because I study why people kill each other and how they do it. But this, some of this research actually stemmed from my pursuit of PhD. I was working at King's College London for a while,

and I was going to do a PhD, typical stuff, like the British army on the American frontier. And

then when the revolution, and I started reading a lot of stuff, trying to figure out what that frontier was like, what was going on there. And one of the things I started to realize was that in

the study of the revolution, like the breakdown of British authority in the American Revolution is

on the frontier. The first place is there in the sense that, you know. And so what I started looking at as I went from really wanting to concentrate on the British army to being like, well,

what's this breakdown and authority, you know? And then I started to realize, as I kept going, that the American Revolution really wasn't about freedom. The American Revolution was about

all that land on the frontier. And people didn't want to hear that, so I kept looking into it. And so

one of the, one of the things that I like realized, was like, you know, for example, like that breakdown on the frontier starts because the British army is there. You know, we don't like, we

talked about 1768 or 1763 and 68 but the treaties and Stanwix and what have you, and what. And that really ticks off our founding fathers that are land speculators. One in particular, it's in

to take a guess, it's Nancy Washington. And so then I'm looking at that, and then I and one of the things that I noticed was that part of what's ticking off the American population is the idea that they're paying taxes to maintain a British army on the frontier, and then that army then has to leave the frontier in the early 1700s and is in Boston, and people are protesting about paying for that army that's supposed to be on the frontier. And that breakdown starts, really. When settlers keep going into home, you know, home, show me, territory, Cherokee territory, Shawnee territory. And one of the things. Things that really shocked me was like, the settlers are going there, whether it's against the law or not. And you have one of those epiphany

moments where I started to realize I was like, essentially what was happening is the British army was not stopping people from going into that territory. And it dawned on me, but especially all the stuff going on, Black Lives Matter and everything. And it came down to a moment of like, American settlers kept going into that back country, because they're at their attitude towards the British soldiers. Was like, What are you going to do shoot the white guy? And what was the answer? Yeah, what does that answer? And so I started looking at that. And then I started getting into the paperwork of General Gage himself. And one of the things that he is mentioning is that breakdown on the on the back in the back country, and it led me to look into Dunmore's war, as I started to do for my research for my dissertation, where am I as somebody who's studying the frontier? Where am I going to start the American Revolution? It's

Lord Dunmore. Because what happens with Lord Dunmore's war is that it's that whole breakdown on the frontier. And what became apparent to me was like, if you don't know who Lord Dunmore, Ward Dunmore was, he was the governor of Virginia. He's brand new going in

there. And one of the things he wants to do is he wants to prove to people like George Washington, like he wants to be on their side. He wants to be the good guy to them. And so what does he do? He looks at the breakdown in relations between the Shawnee and the Virginians. And he basically says, We need to go punish them. And this led to another sort of Epiphany in my research, was that we never give Native Americans agency in our history. We always act like, you know, how dare they oppose us going into their territory and things of that

nature. And what I found interesting about Lord Dunmore's war is it starts with whites going into Shawnee territory without a mission. And the funny thing is is, guess who a lot of them work for, begins with

11:52

a W, and so this war breaks out on the frontier from this tit for tat violence and the situation you know, like and what's interesting to me is that when Lord Dunmore says he's going to raise

a colonial militia to go put down the Shawnee. People like George Washington are all about crown policy, as long as it's what going into Native American territory, taking their territory. The

situation on that and on that frontier is so chaotic during this process, Lord Dunmore does not have permission for this. He goes ahead and does it. The people of Virginia are all behind it. They go on to the invasion of this area. Engages like, it was strange to me to read Gage's, like correspondence with all the other leaders of Britain in North America, and like they're writing him and saying, What the hell's going on. And Gage is like, you know about Don Morris ward?

Engages like, I have no idea. Nobody gave them permission from London to do this, but they're

doing it anyways. And at 1.1 of the most important moments in my personal research was there's a colonel at Fort Ontario, a guy named Caldwell, and he writes all the time. And if you're

a historian, we love people who write too much, right? He never shuts up. So you're getting a constant, you know, 360 of what's going on all the time? And he's right engaged in Boston, saying, you know, he's like, What the hell is going on here? We've got hoshoni Shawnee Cherokee coming up to the fort, and they're like, What do we do? What do we do? And it's crazy, because the Lord Dunmore's war is successful. Like, I'm not going to get into the super details of it and but what happens is, is that to show that that moment is about the frontier, Caldwell writes Gage in Boston and says, you know, what do I tell the whole show name?

What

do I tell these people to do that are coming to me about this war in Virginia and gages response

to Caldwell was essentially to tell the native peoples he doesn't use that language. I'm not going to repeat what he says, But he says, tell those people that that the king is their friend, the king there, that the king will back them up. And this is a month before Lexington and Concord. He says to Caldwell to tell them to make war upon those who make war on them. He was giving permission to the Native Americans to send essentially like fight back. But what

ends up happening is that as far as dunmore's campaign is concerned, we start to see a pattern here, that as long as it's going westward, the founding fathers are about.com policy. The other thing is, is that we see a pattern. As the military historian, he's more into the diplomatic stuff. We see the methods that are going to be used, which is, we're not, we're not really concerned with killing headed Americans directly. What we're concerned about is go after their housing, go after their food, and what's going to follow. And the other, the other tactic is, is that to create column, like a super like several different columns of overwhelming force, like, one of the things we're going to see in this talk, is that we constantly knew what each other was doing

in an age before Signet Intel, you know. And so what happens is, is that we have a good the Virginians had a good idea how many Shawnee there were. They create a whole bunch of overwhelming force columns, which leaves the Native Americans in response of like which column. Do we attack? How do we attack it? And what ends up happening if they concentrate on one, the other ones are still doing the destruction. So the reality is, there's no way to respond. To make a long story short about dunmore's war, it will end in 1774 not to the satisfaction of certain people like George Washington, because Dunmore did not have permission for this campaign. He ends just on the verge of total destruction. He damages the Shawnee, but he doesn't destroy them. And so people like George Washington are a little annoyed, because who's still on the land. So that leaves it to now 1775 revolution itself. So one

of the first things Continental Congress does after it's founded is it creates three Indian departments, the northern department, the middle department, Central Department, each of those are to deal with native relations between the new United States. Rachel complicated that

and the various nations. So in the north, the main concern of the Indian Department under Philip Skyler, who's who's named the commissioner of Indian affairs from North is to deal with

the Haudenosaunee. And his main job, Skylar's strict instructions are, go, get to the Haudenosaunee, meet with them and get a pledge of their child. Because what had been happening for that for the past 100 years, as we heard the talk this morning, was that the league does not want to get involved in these intercolonial wars, so the French and English are

fighting each other. That's you guys' problem. If the Americans and the British are now fighting

each other, that's you guys' problem. That's not our problem. What the main thing that comes out of that, as well as League itself, as a structure, is neutral. Individuals are allowed to participate if they so choose. So just like if I wanted to go fight in Ukraine and go fight for the

Ukrainians, that wouldn't suddenly mean that New York State's involved in the war between Ukraine and Russia. That just means that me as a person decided to, you know, go risk my life

and do that. So in 1775 Skyler meets with the representatives of the Six Nations, and they do declare neutrality, as he asked for, and that neutrality is strained almost immediately, if we go

back to the previous slide. While this is happening, the Shawnee are being forced to cede all of their land south of the Ohio River. So the Haudenosaunee are there their representatives at the Fort Pitt treaty. The Continental Congress has representatives at the Fort Pitt treaty. So literally, as you stand there, and you're you're in Albany, and you're trying to say, I have a piece and we have this two row off them, and I'm not going to mess with you, and you're not gonna mess with me. You have the middle Confederacy, the Shawnees, being completely dispossessed of their land. So you can already imagine these guys sitting there listening to Philip Schuyler talking about, you guys are good and we're not going to mess with you. Oh, by the way, you know the folks in the south are being forcefully built everything label. While this is happening, the United States also decides to undertake an invasion of Canada. Skyler is again, very concerned about another confederacy north of here, the seven fires up in Canada, and he gives very, very, very strict orders. He's not just the commissioner of Indian Affairs. He's also a general department of the Conference of army. He has extremely strict orders. Do not harass the natives under any circumstances. We do not want to fight a war with these folks. We do not want involved in war. Go up there. Liberate Canada. Everyone's going to join you. It's going to be great. They're going to be so happy. It turns out, they were not happy to be liberated Canada. The United States Army was soundly defeated on December 31 1775 that in the Battle of Quebec, where Richard Montgomery was killed, Benedict farmers himself was captured, and there'd be a slow series of retreats. And one of the posts they retreated to was a post called the cedars, which is a river of upriver from Montreal. When the British retook the cedars, the people who were in the cedars and in the United States Post were stripped of their baggage. That became the massacre at the seniors. And this became a true propaganda moment. And we'll see a few of these propaganda moments. We're suddenly this is a literally a period illustration that appeared in a newspaper in London of the Native American contingent, who's with the British suddenly turned into the savage Master, where they killed all the soldiers from seniors, complete BS, I mean, just completely made up. This did not happen, right there. The switch flipped immediately. Benedict Arnold, who's still the American commander at this point, obviously the treason hasn't happened. Gives the order to turn the villages. The guy he gives this order to looks at it and says, I mean, he knows the C, v, s, so brown actually defies his orders and refuses and then he writes this, great if anybody doesn't like one of the. Arnold, the commander here, Jacob brown writes a pamphlet about all the things Benedict Arnold does, and he ends the pamphlet with something of the effect of, you got to watch this guy. He trader someday. Nobody does from the Jacob Brown, but that's how fast the switch flipped. It switched from August of 1775 do not harass the natives under any circumstances to burn their villages, burn them out and leave nothing. So then Skylar is ordered to hold a second conference with them on the show, this time at German flats. You know, in the middle of the Mohawk Valley. There at this point is where Skyler, who is a seasoned diplomat, his grandfather had been involved with his father had been involved in frontier diplomacy. He was involved in frontier diplomacy. He knew how it worked. He understood the two. I mean, Lord understood this

implicitly. He tells the Haudenosaunee, German flats were with us, or you are against us.

There

is no longer neutrality. And if you take an active neutrality, if you actively are neutral, you are an enemy of the United States. So you're either ally with us or you're enemy. And there is no more in between. There's no more of new lines, and there's no more of this 150 years of diplomacy that we've had with the Haudenosaunee, where there was always this back and forth, and there was always this understanding. Skyler ends it a German flats, absolutely and again, when he's issuing this ultimatum, what's happening in the world. Military guy can tell you what's happening in the world.

21:36

Well, part of that idea that the American Revolution was about land on the frontier, and the frontier itself is that the American Revolution is going to be the opportunity to destroy the three

great native peoples who are at our way, who have we already destroyed Shawnee now?

Who's

next on the list? The Cherokee basically the as far as the Cherokee war is concerned, they're going to use the same tactics that they used against the Shawnee, only this time. It's not just going to be Virginia that's going to be happy about what's going on, but what you're going to find is, is that Virginia wants Cherokee territory. North Carolina wants Cherokee territory.

South

Carolina and Georgia. So what are they going to do? They're going to raise their militias, the they're going to use, again, that tit for tat violence on the frontier that's going on between the Cherokee and whites, and they're going to use that as an excuse for an overall invasion.

They're going to use the same tactics. And when you have that many states involved, can you imagine the number of columns that are going into Cherokee territory? And then the other thing is, is that a lot of the incidents that occur, guess who? They all work for Washington.

And

so what we find is that you know this is going to go on, and you got to understand that what's important to somebody who studies military history, and especially the British if you look at the

dates of when this is going on, the largest army in the history of North America is off the coast

of North America. It's the British Army under how and no one knows where they're going to land, okay? Which means that this entire front, this entire waterfront, when you got naval power, you can land anywhere as anytime. And here's the crazy thing about George Washington desperately needs men where in New York to protect one of the most important ports on the East Coast. What's more important to these states, supporting Washington, or destroying the Cherokee? Detroit, destroying the Cherokee, because that was their immediate we got something for this. And the crazy thing is that when we get when we finally gave this presentation at the Society for military history, the guy who was our facilitator. His family was

from North Carolina, and they were loyalists. And if you want to know how important the destruction of native peoples were and how important that land was, his family were loyalists, and his relatives actually participated with the rebels to crush the Cherokee in the hopes of getting that land. You know. And seven years from Carolina, yeah, it's still collapsing, yeah, and

it's and it's commemorated as something nice. And so what are the tactics? Once again, you've

got all these large columns going in there. What's the focus? If we can kill Native Americans, that's fine, but if we burn their houses down and we kill and burn their crops, what's going to happen to them. What is the outcome when you take those things away from people? And to

give you an idea of the disassociation that people have with this as a tactic when you study the American Revolution, I recently read an article where a guy wrote about this, this invasion, and

then he was like, and what was great about the invasion as looking at it as an American, is we didn't kill a lot of people, yeah, but what he didn't look at was, is that following winter, if you read British accounts, they're desperately starving in Florida. I mean, anybody that's forced to go to Florida, I guess I could understand, but, but no, like they're they're on the frontier. The Cherokee are homeless, and they're just their lifestyle is destroyed, and so we have. The second three great peoples gone and out of the way. So again, the Haudenosaunee are sending representatives to the treaties, while the Cherokee are ceding their land. So again, if you think about there's the Albany conference, we have representatives of seeing the Shawnees seed their land. We have the German flats conference in 76 they have representatives, while the charity are being forced to see if they're lazy. They're being told by Thomas Jefferson, if you come after us, or if you don't join us, we're going to destroy you. They're being told by Skyler, if

you don't join us, we're going to destroy you. So you can see the choice, where some folks decide, You know what, maybe the British are a little chance. This is our only chance to save our lands. So in 1777 when there's this giant three part campaign, so they're going comes down from the north, and how supposed to come up from the south, and St Leger supposed to come over from the west. So St Leger comes down from from Montreal, and then through Ontario, and he's been marched all the way to the port Stanwix in modern day Rome, and then

under Nicholas Herkimer, a relief force is going to come and come up the valley, and they're going to meet at the Battle of Oriskany. And at the Battle of Oriskany, there were several participants there from the holy nation. So you have cynical lawyers there. You have Cayuga warriors there. This is the incident that Skyler uses to condemn them. So when they when warriors individually decide to take part in the Battle of moruska, Skyler decides, now you've done it. You've given me the excuse that I need, that tiny little bit of excuse I need to utterly destroy him. And he writes to Congress in February of 1778 and says, I recommend that we invade your lawyer, that we carry the war into their country. So spending figures, preparations

are being made, not only to defend the frontiers, but to chastise those chastise those nations by carrying, where possible, into their country. So we look at the date of that, February of 1778

nothing has happened except the valid or seen. There have been no rates in New York state. There's been no rates in Pennsylvania, there's been no rates whatsoever. This is there's the result of valid risk. Now it's Congress, so it takes them a while to actually deal with Skylar's recommendations, and in June of 1778 which is hidden under the thing Congress officially authorizes the invasion of your employee. So for those of you who are paying attention, there is

no frontier rating that's happened in June of 1778 as Wyoming and cherry Valley, which are traditionally the reasons that the Sullivan campaigns are undertaking it haven't even happened yet. Skyler has already recommended. Congress has already approved the plan. There hasn't even been a raid yet. So the idea that this campaign is reaction to those battles is crap. I mean, we can. We can? You know what Lisa was saying? You can read it in records, we can look at Congress. Congress says, yeah, the script that's authorized expedition. Skylar is absolutely ecstatic. When you read his letter to George Washington. He is like a giddy school girl. He says,

here's what we're going to do. We're going to take a force. We're going to march him from the Mohawk Valley. We're going to come across Oneida Lake. We're going to march down. We're going to burn out the Onondaga. We're going to march over Lynn. We're going to burn out the



Kyoga. We're going to march Overland. We're going to march to Tennessee. We're going to burn out the Seneca. We're going to take them all out in one fell swoop. It's going to be fast. It's going to be everything you're looking for. Washington writes back to I don't know what I'm talking about. Congress had authorized the expedition. The board of war had authorized the expedition. Neither one of them decided to tell George Washington that they had authorized the expedition. He had no idea that Congress and the board of war had approved the invasion of her boyhood. And he's also down in New Jersey fighting one of the most important battles of the American Revolution at the Battle of Oh, my thinking military guy couldn't answer much to him. My first thought it was really hot that day. So, I mean, he literally writes back to Skyler. I don't know what you're talking about this, you know, let me catch up here. I'm kind of in the middle of something, and it's then, in July of 1778 when the next blow falls at Wyoming.

29:29

Yeah, so as far as the British were concerned, you know, they're looking at 1778 and they've just suffered at Saratoga. And 77 they don't have a lot of offensive capability, and so they're trying to figure out, like, what we're going to do to defend Canada? What are we going to do to kind of bring the war to the Americans from, you know, as they would say, the side of Canada. And so one of the things they start to do is they start to do raids. And the idea is, area denial. That's like one, you know, when you when you look at the Mohawk Valley, it's one of the most important bread baskets to the Americans, right? So the idea is, is that. We can't occupy it, but we can definitely deny it to the enemy, which is, we burn down those crops and we push those people back off the frontier, they can't use it. So when you look at the operations, then it's kind of cool, especially from an operational standpoint. When you're looking at orders and things of that nature, the new British commander actually tells the guys like, you go down, you hit, keep your eyes open, and as soon as there's any resistance, get the hell out of dodge, because that's not you're not there to occupy that land. You're there to make it uninhabitable. Okay? And so what we find then is that one of the like looking at some of these isolated settlements, the Battle of Wyoming, I call it the Battle of Wyoming. If you look at American records, they call it the massacre at Wyoming, or the Wyoming massacre, one of the things that you'll find, especially when you're a British military historian of the American Revolution, is that anytime the Americans lose, what do they call it? They call it a massacre. And really, what happened at Wyoming was the Americans got caught with their pants down, and they got beat soundly, and it was an embarrassing defeat. And so they needed to make it a, you know, make it into a propaganda victory in the sense that, oh, it was a massacre. You know, we lost like five, you know, the British suffered very, very few casualties. There's no actual documentation of any real massacre taking place, or any, you know, like, there's no women or children even killed in

this situation. All right, and then, but we go into this tit for tat, and so we find New York State is up in arms. They're going to, you know, argue like, again, push for this raid next slide. And then

we also had so we want retaliation for that. And what's going to end up happening is, is that there are going to be two raids that the Americans are going to do what is going to come up from Wyoming, and if anybody is into railroads to the Sayers, the Sayer, Pennsylvania is a great

railroad spot, but it's at the time. It's it's the some main villages for some people associated with the HANA, shown a Queen Esther settlement. It's got, there's a good population there. And

the response is that from Wyoming, a small American expedition with about 120 guys makes it

to chemo and Tioga and burns them down. And the natives retreat in the face of that, there's a small battle. But these, these areas are destroyed. And this is basically the Americans saying, we can come and get you. Okay. The other raids come out of scary and it's Pennsylvanians in a

Continental Army unit, and they attack Unadilla and anaquaga. And what they do is they destroy those villages again. The natives have been treated in front of them there. There is an account that the Americans caught a baby and, you know, we're playing with it on their bayonet and on a Quagga. We can't really 100% confirm that, but what we find is the tactics. It's a warning that will come, and we will get you. One of the things that I found interesting about Unadilla and anapaga, before I get into this, this slide is I found out they were mixed communities, that one of the reasons the Americans hated him so much is that there were Whites and mixed people living there and blacks. It's not, it's not a utopia. Don't get going that

far. But one of the things that I found was a trace of, like, the actual, the total vitriol when people were seen as race traders. So for example, like some of the vitriol you see going towards Brandt's men is not only for the action that he's doing, but in my research, I've actually

found that most of Brandt's men were probably white, but dressing native. And you can't get any worse than that, right? Because you're gone to the devil reporting to them. What we find then is that, Oh, that's okay, we're still, we're still working on it, right? It's Besides, it's such a horrible topic to talk about. In some ways, you need to let something great. Well, what happens

is, is that Hartley basically sends a letter out to the frontier, and this is a nasty letter saying he could do more. He'll burn more. He could kill more. So stop your stuff, or we'll be back.

Okay. Is

everybody follow this guy to burn kimono? Yeah, he's, he, he's, he's willing to come back and do that next slide, please. This leads to a counter from the British. One of the things that's interesting, again, from an operational standpoint, is that the British are starting to do what we

would consider to be modern counter insurgency operations, where they're actually using mixed forces of local indigenous people, loyalists as like, you know, like paramilitary auxiliaries,

and then a hardcore of regulars. And what shows up off of in Cherry Valley in November of 1778 is a few members of the eighth Regiment of Foot. Is that British Army hardcore loyalist?

What is going to be the king's loyal New Yorkers and native peoples under from several different nations. Under Joseph Brett, once again, we find the Americans caught with their pants down. The American commander was from alden's regiment of Massachusetts, regiment.

He basically was getting. Reports that there was a big force in the area. He sent out no

reconnaissance. He paid no attention to the fact that was going on. And then what's even more ridiculous, from a military perspective, is that he's supposed to be the commander of a fort. He was actually staying in a house outside the fort because it was more comfortable. So when he's finally when the British and the natives attack, he's actually caught in that house and shot running to the fort. Yeah, but here's where this goes. Out of hand, it is a mess this time. It is because if you read the accounts from the people, the natives, who were with Brett, there's two reasons why they will justify it. The first is, you burnt on apaga, you burnt at a Dilla, you burnt to yoga. You do it to us. What are we going to do to you? The same thing.

J

Jordan Loewen-Colon 35:51

Do you need help catching up on today's topic? Or do you want to learn more about the resources mentioned? If so, please check our website at [podcast, dot Doctrine of Discovery dog](#) work for more information. And if you like this episode, review it on Apple Spotify or wherever you listen to podcasts. And now back to the conversation.

36:10

The other thing is that a lot of the guys that took part in the raids of Chen and to yoga had actually been paroled after that big massacre at Wyoming. So here they were given a parole they were told, we're not going to kill you, we're not going to do all these horrible things that you said, that you you're going to put in the papers. And then those guys come to turn around after that, forget, you know, like being put on parole, and then they go and do this and do this damage and burn down. And so it's like payback. It doesn't justify it. But this is, this is an actual

massacre, okay? And I'm not going to justify it on behalf of the natives. So, but so, oh, so what

happens then is that 1779 we find that the Americans and the British are left in a bind again as

to, what are we going to do in 1779 as far as the British are concerned, they're in the same position they were in in 1778 which is, we can't do a major invasion from the north and in Canada. So what are we going to do? We're going to revert back to the raids. We're going to try

to do the raids. So the raids pick up. As far as George Washington's concerned, Congress asks him, what are we going to do? And he sits down. And one of the fun things for me is that when I

when I studied the British Army, the British army is very well organized. One of the things that

drove me nuts about writing this book is Americans are all over the place. They're not like, I don't know how to explain it, and it just drives you nuts. But Washington is actually, he's not a

brilliant battlefield commander, but he is a man that really, you know, he's good at the bigger picture. And so what does he look at for 1779 for the Americans in 17 that year? First, he's like,

I could take New York City. But here's the problem, if the majority of the British army is in New

York City, is that going to be a bloody mess? Yeah. Is that going to cost the Americans? And would we? We might win, but more than likely it's not going to lead to victory. So he tells Congress we could do New York City, but it's going to cost too much. The next one is he says we can invade Canada. He knows he can invade Canada because we have enough we know that. He thinks this is a realistic possibility. He's not into it, but we have enough information as

the he has enough information to know the British the garrison of Canada is bare bones.

They're lucky. They can do the raids. And then the other thing he also knows is that Canada was start. Canada was having a problem at this point in time, importing enough food to feed everybody was who was there, and this is going to play an important role in the planning for the Sullivan Clinton campaign, because he's like, okay, Canada doesn't have enough food to keep that in your mind. And then the other thing, thing about Canada is that he will actually take this far enough where he pretends like he'll set up a fake invasion of Canada for New Hampshire, and that'll be kind of interesting. And then the other thing that he does, and this is essentially what he'll do, as far as the main American army is concerned, he'll remain on the defensive against the British Army in New York, because he can hide behind the mountains, the

Hudson Highlands and wherever the British try to attack him, they have to come through a very

fine set, you know, like a high pass or something like that, to get to him. So really, all Washington has to do is sit there and watch him and see what the British are going to do. And what you'll find is, if you read about the army in New York, the army in America, because there's a lot of people don't realize there's two British armies, two areas of operations, Canada and the army in America in New York. The British commander Clinton, his summer of 1779 was desperately trying to get Washington to come out and fight him. If you know about the Battle of

Stony Point, right? A great American victory. That was bait. He was hoping the Americans would

come out, but Washington didn't play his game. Didn't come out with the whole army. And so it's like, you know, he didn't, didn't take the bait. So in the end, then you know. So these are the three major options that he has to Congress. And then this one is you. So while Congress has Washington. To his report, what is, what are we going to tell Washington he should do for 1779 The other thing that happens at this time is Spain starts talking through France, talking about potentially entering the war on behalf of the United States. And the French minister writes this really awesome letter to Congress, and he says, Well, what do you want? If you win,

and Congress sort of scratches his head and says, What do you mean? Like, Well, you had a declaration of independence three years ago, but you have an outline of your warrants. Like, what do you want? So Congress sits down and it writes six warrants like, okay, you know we want Florida. You know we want Quebec. We want everything. We're willing to negotiate on every one of our six claims, except one is that the Mississippi River will be the western border

of the United States in America, and that is non negotiable. So Spain's going to come in on the

war with us. You know, Spain, who owns everything to the west of the Mississippi River, that's

going to be the border between the two hundreds. So they're literally debating what they should do in Congress, as they're also debating whether Spain should end the war and what our

borders are going to be. Now, I'm not saying there's a connection between these two. There's there's no proven connection, but you can imagine what Congress is dealing with in this period

of time is, is land and land past the proclamation line into native country. So if we go back to what's already happened at 1775 with the Shawnee being forced to give up their land and Cherokee being forced up to give up their land in 1776 what option is Congress going to pick in

1779 we're going to go after the third Confederacy, right? We're going to destroy all resistance,

organized resistance west of the proclamation line that could possibly stop the United States from expanding on this. But, and this becomes the real crux to it. All the war, the Sullivan Clinton campaign and the resulting campaigns has nothing to do with breeding. It has nothing to do with anything except a blatant land grab by the United States of America. And one of the

things the three plans they proposed to Congress initially, notice that all of them don't mention

this, and they're all once that Congress is just going to be like, Oh, okay, we don't want to do that. Well, we don't want to do that. So that when this is finally proposed, this is going to be the

way good. So then it becomes who's going to lead this great invasion that Congress has not authorized for a second time, and the number one choice is Philip Skyler. That's the plan.

John

Jay, who is the single most conservative member of Congress, writes a letter to his friend Philip

Skyler, and says, You should do this. And why should you do it? Gather morals for the sake of

your country and your children. You can leave them a sufficient share of property. He's literally

telling Skyler wars about getting all this land, buddy, you can get some of it. If you lead this campaign, you'll be even more famous than you already are. So when other folks have looked at this campaign over and over again, they keep saying, well, it's not really about land. It's about raiding. And there's no proof that it's about land. There's tons of proof it's about land.

You just have to know where to look. James Dwayne, Congressman from New York, writes a letter to Philip Skyler, we have a right to advocate compensation for their life, for the loss of lives, property, time, lesson three, so they're able to make it by assignment a part of their territories. After we beat them, we're going to take their land. James, this is just this letters before the Sullivan campaign. There's no question that in the minds of the people who planned

and executed and put together this campaign, that this campaign is about taking that land. So what happens is Washington comes out with a planning I want to get to it in just a second, and

Washington comes up with this plan for a two part invasion of your report. And one of those is

going to come up from the south and follow very much the way Hartley went. And the second one is going to come through the Mohawk Valley. It's going to dip down. It's going to take out a

whole bunch of allied villages along Susquehanna, and then they're going to form a junction

at

Tioga, Pennsylvania. They're going to march parallel to the lakes, burn out the Cayuga and then march over to the the the

44:17

Senegal Skyler sees this plan and what's missing from this plan.

44:28

His original plan was to burn out the Onondaga. So when he sees this plan, he literally writes a

letter to George Washington. Says, you know, thought occurs to me, what if we just as New York, send a really fast moving invasion and burn out the Onondaga. And that's exactly what, what ends up happening at Fort. At Fort, Stanwix world, New York today, in general, Skyler basically sends words to general Vance Shaq. And he says, you know, go after the on and.

You

have my permission. Raise, raise the group. It's about 500 men, and raid Onondaga. Burn it down. The thing that's crazy is that we know that they were this is after we get information. And when I say we the Americans, that the Onondaga want to be neutral, they have actually physically given up 108 of their medals they were given from the British when the British were

trying to get them to get them to side with the British. They've given up those medals. And basically, Skyler is looking at this as the opportunity to take them out now, because otherwise,

if they make peace, what can we not get that land that we so desperately want? And this is Vasco. It's house which is down the road from where he works. Basically, the Americans understand that this attack on the Onondaga is going to be pretty nasty and unaccountable and unacceptable. Some Oneida show up at Fort sandwich and they're like, Hey, what are we doing this season? Where are we campaigning? Who Are we attacking? And basically, the Americans send them off on a raid to oswagochi. I'm like, the world's leading expert on the raid

on oswagochi, which I'm not going to get into because it's not important. But it's important for

the fact that the Oneida are taken off the trail. They're, you know, they don't know what's going

on. And because the Americans know that if the Oneida participate in burning down Onondaga,

they're not going to want to do it. And it's also going to give word to the rest of the home show

name, that's not cool. The Raid is absolutely successful. The Americans, if you're again into military history, they're starting to learn how to operate on their own. It's a quick raid here.

It's

a few days. They go what it's like, over 80 miles back and forth. They burn down the village before they leave. One of the things that's very interesting that we've discovered was that Skyler sends a letter to the American commanders, and he says, basically that to make sure that the Americans treat native women properly. Because the simple fact is, is that there had been, it's very obvious. There had been incidents of rape and mistreatment and murder and the

like Skyland literally says they do not do that to our women. You do not do that to theirs.

They

did it anyway. They did it anyways. We know they did so. So the rate is successful, which means that the Onondaga are out of the picture now. And no, that's so the the justification that

Skylar gave for attacking the Onondaga to Washington. He says, If we burn out the Onondaga, who were the capital of the Confederacy, you know, again, with this misunderstanding of accelerated state, the other nations will ask for peace. This will have this will stop us from having to do the biggest Winston invasion. And it works. As soon as the Onondaga are burned out, the Cayuga make inroads through the through the Oneida, and they say, okay, you know, we want peace. We get it. We get where next we understood the ultimatum that happened at



German flats, we get it. Washington's response to that is that's embarrassing. We're already going to do this full scale invasion, and they don't really want peace. They just want to not be burned out. So Screw it. We're just going to invade them. So he literally just ignores this overture for peace from the Cayuga and then you have the actual Sullivan campaign itself. So Ben Skye campaign is a precursor to the Sullivan campaign. And then there's also a third campaign that's happening under Daniel Brockhead. So there's actually a multitude of campaigns all converging on these areas. Yeah, and I'll get into some of the planning. A lot of the times, when you read the histories of the American Revolution. They always, as we've said

before, they talk about the Sullivan Clinton campaign as being a sideshow. This is not a sideshow. A quarter of the American Continental Army is going in the opposite direction of the

main British threat in New York. That's a quarter of the army. Does that sound like a minor operation to anyone else? And the idea is, is that, you know, so this is a quarter of the American army. The other thing that's amazing is that George Washington put so much planning into this. I don't think there was a better planned operation in the American Revolution. Because what Washington did is he asked any he put feelers out there, and he was

like, I want to know what the river's like between here and there. You know, like, every single direction they were going. And he was getting intelligence of like, how deep the water was at certain times a year, how rough were the trails, how, you know, all of these things. And he's basically trying, you know, like, he's got everything planned right down to the minute of like, what, where the directions the army should go into. And to give you an idea how effective it is,

like his intelligence is they, the Americans, pretty much knew every direction they were going,

and they knew what the terrain was going to be like. And what's crazy is, if you want to like one

of the other things that became apparent to me in the study of this is that you always get this sense that the wilderness is just we always are told it's a wilderness, it's a wilderness. Do you guys realize that we send these huge columns out in both the Shawnee war, the Cherokee war and then in the Sullivan Clinton campaign? Do you guys realize they were averaging, sometimes, anywhere from 15 to 20 miles a day? Does that sound like rough, Adirondack type

trails to you? These are areas where people had lived for centuries, and what we were discovering was that, you know that we were discovering those trails, we're discovering those places that these are routes of travel that people have been traveling for 1000s of years. By that point in time, these places are inhabited. One of the things you'll find about the villages that, when they get to the villages, what struck me was the amount of foreign fields they had. There was a lot of clearing. The other thing that was fascinating to me was that the way they described the villages, because, you know, in the way I was taught, you know, there's one big village that's where people live. There were actually suburbs. There were smaller villages on the outskirts. When they attack Onondaga, for example, like they're hitting smaller villages before they hit the main village and what and whatnot. And then the other thing that blows your mind about the intelligence they had, and I think I said this before we knew their numbers,

and they knew our numbers, as the campaign, you know, and as we were invading their territory, when our two armies unite, we fight one major battle at the Battle of Newtown, which

shouldn't have been fought like the British commander Butler did not want to fight there, but the Delaware who lived in the villages there, wanted to do some sort of resistance, and it was a

disaster. But after that point, we started marching through their territory, and we're burning down houses that and you've noticed that, for example, American soldiers are very upset by the fact that the Native Americans had nicer orchards than they had. They're upset by, why do brown people have houses with glass? Why do they have all these Why is their lifestyle?

Why is

their standard, yeah, feather beds? Why is their standard of living so much better than ours?

And again, it's that whole like, you know, how dare they have a life similar to us. Needless to say, for the Haudenosaunee, their only option by this point, because it is such overwhelming force, is to retreat to Niagara. There is limited resistance. As you read the campaign, there are small battles and stuff. But essentially, what happens after the Battle of Newtown is that the

Americans have free reign, and as they're burning out, the Seneca, even though the Cayuga have sent word that they're they want peace. Sullivan's like, Let's burn them out as well. And one of the cool things that happened during the research was that my colleague here, Mr. Bowman, quantified the destruction of corn. And remember, I told you what's so important about this, this idea of corn in this, these wars, is you starve people out. Remember that intelligence that I gave you? What did Skyler know was going on in Canada at this time? There's

a food shortage. There's a food shortage, and they purposely are like, let's make it extra special this time and really burn them out. Because they knew that the British didn't have enough food to feed these so many of the Haudenosaunee who are forced to flee from their villages end up at Fort Niagara on the hopes, just like Washington said, people will throw them

on the enemy magazine on the hopes that they were being fed. They settled into a series of forks. And if you read someone like Mary Jemison or governor blacksnake, you'll see that these

forks were like, Excuse me, these huts were like a mile long. You know was sort of long row outside the fork. The winter of 1779 in 1780 turned out to be coldest winter in history. New York Harbor froze at one point. They actually were bringing cannons on the Staten Island across

New York Harbor. And February, or second. January was the oldest one we ever had. This coming to anywhere. So we know 1000s of people starved to death and froze to death in those

camp. So when we talk about the Sullivan campaign, we talk about, oh, well, you know, very

few people were killed. The State goal of the campaign was to make sure these people rose to dad and start and you can actually read some of the diaries where they're burning down the corn, and they say, man, we know it's going to happen. We understand what's going to happen when we burn down these people's horn. And they go to their ministers, and the ministers say, Yeah, but you know, you're the Israelites, and they're the big, good enemy. I don't know it's okay, because you know you have God on your side. The other thing I forgot to mention, and this is my fault, when Washington sends these orders to Sullivan of what to do, to burn out the

houses, to burn these people out, and not to make peace with them until they have been destroyed. Those orders were so harsh that even in terms of the 18th century, Sullivan actually

writes to Washington, and he's like, are you serious about this? And walked in to confirm his orders. It's what happens in modern military operations today. If you're not 100% sure, you're not okay with this, you want confirmation. And Sullivan's like, is this what you really want me to

do? And Washington's reply essentially is, did you not read it? And after the Battle of Newtown,

he says, Don't forget, not over. Keep going.

54:27

Yeah, they knew what they were doing. So speaking of justifying it, after they got back from the

Sullivan campaign, they met back up from eastern Pennsylvania. This man, Reverend Israel Evans gave a sermon to the American army, you know, who had just marched through, and again, tells you the campaign is about land. So the idea of, you know, Max minutes is a fantastic historian, you know, I will never be as good of historians Max men, but he wrote an entire book, and he says, I know the campaign's about land, but I can't prove it, and I just want

to, I. Really, I think he's deceased. Now, unfortunately, you know, I wish I had had a chance to meet with him and talk with him and say, you know, you just, you had to look at a different place. He wanted Washington to say the campaign was about land, but it's not Washington's campaign. It's skyrockets, and that's really the sort of crux of the rest of it. Because now, like Dwayne, James Dwayne had said, you know, before the campaign even started, who's going to get all this land? We've broken, though initially Confederates and broken their ability to resist us militarily. You know, it's not going to stop the rating. The rating is 1780 is far worse, and rating is 1781 is just as bad. So it actually makes the rating much, much worse than ever been

in history. But there's all this land out there, and as the speaker alluded to this morning, there's this big idea of whose land is it? Massachusetts charter such as theirs. New York says it's theirs. The federal government says, Well, we said the invasion, it's kind of ours, right? So who gets this land? So New York State does the smartest thing you can think of, and it sends someone to Congress to make sure that New York gets the land. And who do we send to Congress? Philip Skyler. And the other guy that we send is Robert Livingston. Robert Livingston

is one of the best lawyers in the new york colony. Robert Livingston gets a manifesto this step,

saying Your job is to get the land. Here is every interaction we have had as a colony, going back to the Dutch between New York and Haudenosaunee, to show you that New York controls

Haudenosaunee land, that they are subjects of the new york colony. And literally, they sent Skyler and Livingston to Congress, and they said, Go, make sure that land comes to us. These are explicit instructions. So Skylar Livingston, get there, they are shown and literally, Skylar writes a letter. They are shown into a back room after they meet with Congress, and they're shown a map, and they draw a line on that map at Niagara, and they said, Would New York be

willing to give up all its claims on anything west of that line? West? Yes. What does that mean?

Means everything east of that line is New York and just like that. In a backroom deal, New York

State got all of your oil. So Massachusetts gets the profit from the land sales of the Treaty of Harper that was mentioned this morning and 17 and six, but New York gets to keep all the land

just like that. So if you think about the history, we start European, start in Albany, you know, 1614, so from 1614, 1780, we make it, you know, all the way to Rome. You know, from Albany

to Rome, what's that? 100 miles? Skyler manages to convince the federal government to invade these people, burn them out, starve them to death, and it steals all their land in the backroom deal with Congress in a day. And then, just as an aside, if you want to know how crooked New York State Government is, we convinced the federal government to take out our oceanic problem. Right? Maine was invaded by the British in 1779 it was part of Massachusetts,

so that's a direct threat of the British Army. And again, this is how important the frontier is in the war, Massachusetts is facing an invasion. It's called the British Army, and Massachusetts is

like, we need help. That's what they say to Congress, we need help. And then the Congress looks at them and says, dealing on your own. So Skyler managed to manipulate Congress into doing New York's theory. So if you're from New York, you've heard about the military track, the

military track, the military track we hear about all the freaking time, you know. So the other army that went into iroquoia with Sullivan's army were an army of surveyors. They surveyed every freaking inch of land they could find. And 1781 the war isn't even over yet. The war is still

going on. The war gone for two more years. New York State authorizes the creation of the military track. And what is the point of the military track? Because New York is broke, just like

everybody else is broke, and the only way New York can paint soldiers is in land mountains. Now, if we really want to condemn Skylar, and this is why that looking behind me for the ghost

of Skyler, skyler's decision to invade the Onondaga suddenly makes a lot more sense, doesn't

it? Right? Why does he push so hard to burn out a neutral power who were actually leaning pro American shit ton of land as they excuse my friendship all that right? That all came as a result of the Ben. Expedition burning out the Onondaga. So without Skyler pushing for that extra section, military tract doesn't exist, because the Onondaga would be like the Oneida, they would still be remaining as a neutral or pro American power east of that body, 10 days after the creation of the military tract and the allowing the Surveyor General to hand out parts of the military tract to veterans. New York State realizes, hey, wait, we don't actually have a Surveyor General. We've authorized the Surveyor General to hand out land we ever pointed to Surveyor General? Who should we appoint? So Skyler, styler. It seems great, right? So this is a guy who condemned 150 years of diplomacy at German flats, who condemned the Haudenosaunee, who caused an invasion of their land with nothing, no pretext whatsoever, and then pushed for the burning out of the Onondaga, who were neutral power. And now he's in charge of handing out land to soldiers, the same land that literally it took from boots on the ground to to handing out

to veterans some of those same boots a couple of years after the war. What we're here to talk about, right, is the canal. Everyone recognizes the potential the canal. Like the speaker said this morning, George Washington shows up, this is great. We should build a canal beer. New York State says, well, it's our land. We get to decide how to hand out the waste and unappropriated lands. As we were talking this morning about these concepts of the Christian doctrine, they allow the creation of a company. Creation is the Western Italy mock Navigation Company. And you can probably already guess who the President that completes. It's Philip Skyland. So if you want to talk about a man who's the father of the canal. You don't talk about Clinton, because we don't get to this stage without Philip spider. Destroy, politically, any chance of holding resistance, destroying militarily devotional, destroying society, burning out 50 something villages so that he can build a canal. We see this map all the time, right? This is my favorite map. Look, it's the original, and I work for parks. So like, yeah, we have all the original state park, and we have scary crossing, and we have to talk a lot about parks, or the canal and parks. This is the map. Skylar solo, right? Talked about this this morning. The speakers did Louise and John talking about this. We ran out straight through, straight through, and just fold over, and it's Skyler. And I mean, this guy, you know, it's not my statue. I didn't tear it down. And I'm glad it's not my statue, because, I mean, this guy just, I mean, how do you

have a piece of intelligence in your hand saying, If we burn them out now they're going to starve to death, and then literally writing the orders saying that they burn them out? I mean, there is nothing good. There's nothing happy about this story.

1:03:21

And see my data. As a postscript, you know, I'm looking at the British perspective, the Native Americans, the HANA Shawnee, all these native peoples that were trying to stay neutral now side with the British after Sullivan Clinton. And one of the sad things is, is that, if you actually

study the war on the frontier, how many of you guys are aware the British actually won that war? Is who was on their side, who knew how to fight on the frontier. And what ends up happening to those native peoples is they're not only about to get screwed by the Americans, but they get screwed by the British. Because the British, this was their Vietnam. They want out.

They have a change of government, and they start to negotiate with the United States. And they basically tell their officers, I've read the letters. They tell their officers in Canada and on the frontier, do not tell the savages. That's the language they use. Do not tell them what's in the peace treaty. Do not tell them what's in the peace treaty, because they knew they had won their war, and what did they think they say their land. And one of the saddest things that I've had to read, you guys have all lived through Vietnam, Afghanistan and whatnot. And you read about a lot of officers who write homes saying, We can't believe that we're abandoning these people to their fate. Right? The fall of Vietnam, Afghanistan, the letters that I have read from British officers on the frontier about their allies, the people they fought with and and suffered with on that in that war, they're writing back saying, are we really doing this to these people? Are we leaving them to their fate? Because they all knew what the Americans were going to do

to them, and so these people who thought they had won their war are now left to do with the Skyler who's going to shove this through and all the land deals all up and down the back country, but the more they thought they had won and they were just sold down the river by the. British. So the British don't get out of this week. What's that? Change their policy? Yeah. Oh, and that's the other thing, is that the British will actually change their policy in the in the in

all of their empire. They will no longer deal with native peoples as being even close to Eden. Look at what happens to the Australian aborigines. Look what happens in Africa and India is the

only place because of the weird system that was in India where, you know, those people are considered almost equal to whites, but everywhere else, no, we're not dealing with these people anymore because of this. They didn't want the complications of this. They wanted to be

able to do what they wanted to do where they wanted to.

J

Jordan Loewen-Colon 1:05:37

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